

# The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

BENJAMIN S. JONES, EDITOR.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

ANN FRANKSON, PUBLISHING AGENT.

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## THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

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## The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

From the Ohio State Journal.

### BEWARE OF PHILLIPS.

Wendell Phillips has made another of his peculiar rations in Boston on "The Hour." He goes into Seward, with what would be happily called a vengeance, he belittles South Carolina with the idea of fratricide, he belittles much of this will meaning Union, as the remaining fragment of it and offers the usual number of abstract truths.

It is a sad thing that a man of Phillips' violent opinions, should be clothed with such wonderful powers. We fear that before long he will be fully reconstructed, and the Union made to take the medicine that is honestly meant for his good, such people as Phillips must be suppressed. He talks altogether too freely. Those simple, kind sentences of which his speeches are made up, furnish a mass of evil, so carefully and skilfully wrought, that no honest man can ignore it.

Phillips takes premises which we all grant to be true, and weaves upon them an enchantment of logic from which there is no escape.

Take, now, this fragment of the way in which he belittles another's weakness and makes it his strength:

"The South seeks Union to save slavery; the North clings to the Union to save property and growth. Mr. Seward says the Union makes us safe and strong and happy. We need to think that justice was higher than theft, and hence better than happiness. I have very high respect for that position which is the child of interest."

Weighted in this balance, does not Seward kick the beam? Justice is higher than thirty times better than happiness. Seward is made to have the air of affirming the contrary. But he is ever done so? To whom would you rather entrust power—to Phillips or Seward?

We all agree that slavery is a great evil. We all hope that it will one day perish from the earth. We all think that the Union is the great bulwark of slavery on this continent.

Wendell Phillips takes these unimpeachable abstractions, and distills into them the pestilential heresies of his tribe, so that it seems if you give the premises, you must grant the conclusion. He says:

"Disunion is Abolitionism. That is all I care for. I care not for forms of government but for its essence. The motto of disunion to me is that at its touch the slave breaks forth in justice. Disunion leaves God's eternal laws to work out their solution. Insurrection is the tyrant's check. Let us stand out of God's way, and his divine laws will have free course."

You are hurried along by reasoning like this and cannot make a ready answer. The more you consider it, the more mercifully logical it appears. It strikes deep and pervades the ideas which you have cherished. Put in other words, the argument is this: Liberty is the essence of our government. When our government is no longer animated by liberty, it is time that the dead corruption of its forms should be swept away.

Here is another stroke of the same logical logic:

"I am not aware that at any time or any place Mr. Seward ever named the virtue he would not sacrifice to save the Union. I think he is yet to name the vice which he does not think saving the Union would transform him a virtue. Remembering the element of his statesmanship, let me quote for you the key note of his late speech, which is this:

"The first object of every human society is safety or security, for which, if need be, they will and they must sacrifice every other."

"If unqualified, this principle sanctions every crime. Under it James H. and Bonaparte were slain. Suppose the Union does mean happiness, wealth, order, safety. No man has a right to buy either with crime. Grant all that Mr. Seward claims. No man has a right to trade in sin, however good a bargain the devil offers him. A few years ago, Tennessee and Kentucky both confessed, by their representatives in Congress, that the dissolution of the Union was the dissolution of slavery. The other day Senator Johnson said that if he was an abolitionist, and wanted to break up slavery, he would first set about breaking up the Federal Union. In September Mr. Seward said, 'What are the Southern States in the Union for? Why should they go out? They could not defend themselves a moment against the slaves.' And in this very speech he says it is the Union that restrains the hostility to slavery within narrow limits. Now, if these things are true—if the Union gave us a new God every month—if it made every boy born within its limits as wise as Solomon—we should have no right to cling to it while it shuts out slavery possible in fifteen States."

Wendell Phillips is thus the subtlest and most dangerous of the times. He cannot be denounced without denouncing the principle of liberty, which he represents in its absolute form. He cannot be approved without the adoption of the anarchical idea.

Altogether, the best is not to meet him at all, but always to go round him.

Young men particularly, should be guarded against the fascination of his brilliant thought, his facile reasoning. No doubt in Wendell Phillips they behold one of the finest intellects that the country has produced. Perhaps the fact that he is the ripest growth of the American idea may charm them. He is shrewd, practical, direct, and yet he constantly resorts to the prime truths of his inspiration, as the nation did in the beginning. His culture is deep and generous, and all his knowledge close at hand for instant use. An orator he is unsurpassed; his eloquence has a diamond glitter. For the present generation, he is a most dangerous agitator. During the lapse of a score of years, things may turn up so that a man as Phillips will not be possible, or if he is possible, will be entirely harmless. At present we have (felicitly it is true) the self-deluding truth that we were originally tied to, and so Phillips' ultra views are troublesome. In another generation, we may be going to under a military despotism, and then the premises on which he bases his arguments will not be acknowledged, and the whole thing will slide together.

That day of security has not yet arrived, and in the meantime, we wait our readers against W. P.

### THE DANGER AND ITS REMEDY.

Every man of sense in this nation, has known for long years that terrible doom—that the structure of ruin existed among us, and were at work, as subtly as time, but steadily always in the production of the great result which is now drawing itself with such rapidity. It is no vision or unwarped fancy that has belittled us, we are only reaping what we have sown, only experiencing the consequences of our own conduct. This nation has for nearly fifty years persistently set upon the dust, millions of human beings, each and every one of whom we regarded by the blood of Christ, and called to a heavenly inheritance. The Church, following the corrupt example of the State, has for the most part, remained silent. Where such a state of things exists, no religion is inevitable. There is only a temporary respite, where there is crime. It is the sin of the nation that is plunging it into slavery. It is the sin of the Church that is smothering it in the fire. We have been too busy to be faithful, and too proud to be humble, and too fond of ourselves, to be especially anxious to do good. We have been too busy to be faithful, and too proud to be humble, and too fond of ourselves, to be especially anxious to do good.

Our danger lies in crime actually committed by the South, and abetted by the North. We have undertaken to build up our race by pulling down another—in by peace for the white, we have sold the blacks. Our national structure bears marks of this hurried bargaining for union, and our national administration has always been characterized by a subservience to the slave power. It is no wonder then, that this boasted political system cannot endure, or that with scarce a breath of opposition, it falls into hopeless ruin. Were there no God, it might be possible to give stability to a government in defiance of right, but as God reigns and punishes the guilty, it is utterly impossible that any government should be stable, while it transgresses his laws. Had we been as jealous of the negro's rights as of our own—had every department of our laws, and our administration, been daily mindful of all, instead of meanly contracting its regards to the welfare of the white man alone, we might have appealed to heaven with confidence in this exigency. But as things are, we have no right to be heard on high. If we should lift up our voice to God, his only answer would be, "Cleanse your hands, ye sinners, and purify your hearts, ye double-minded." We must put away this great sin, or perish as a nation.

Hence, the remedy, and the only possible remedy for existing disorders, is a greatly increased anti-slaveryism. If the present evil do not convince us, and cause us to let the oppressed go free—let, like Pharaoh of old, we harden our hearts under the judgments of God, instead of giving the slaves their freedom, this Republic will undoubtedly be shivered to atoms. Compromise at such a moment are a piece of wretched imbecility, and betray an utter ignorance of the fundamental laws of natural propriety. All compromise at this hour, are but ropes upon the check of death. Our sin has found us out. We have to do with God, and not with man. If by sacrificing our all of principle, we could patch up a peace with the slaveholders to-day, it would be broken to-morrow, because in the order of heaven "there is no peace to the wicked."

### THE TORONTO GLOBE ON THE CLEVELAND LAND FUGITIVE CASE.

The Toronto Globe in an article upon the fugitive case in Cleveland closes by saying:

"The United States Commissioner expressed the opinion that the citizens of Cleveland would not oppose the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, however distasteful to them, if it could be proved that this poor woman fairly came within its provisions—that there were not twenty of them who would not wish to see the law upheld. The Cleveland Leader, a strong Republican paper, also expressed its assurance that the law will be upheld."

although at the same time stigmatising it as an unjust, justice-defying, and infamous law. And upon the colored citizen, especially it urges forbearance and submission to the law, even though an unrighteous one, in order that the North may give to the South convincing proof of its fidelity to all Federal laws and its willingness to carry them out, however odious, until duly repealed or modified. This law-shading spirit is in itself comelike, but we think that in present circumstances it may be carried too far. When in the South scarcely a week passes but Northern men are tarred and feathered, and banished, or hung, for no other crime than that of holding Northern sentiments on the subject of slavery—when but a few weeks ago a pious and devoted Methodist minister named Bowley was seized by a mob in Texas and hung, on the bare suspicion of holding abolition sentiments, and when any claim to have his murderers brought to justice would be treated with derision—in such circumstances we do not think the people of Cleveland ought to be very punctilious in discharging their obligations to the infamous slave law. If to-day, law or no law, they should take the girl Lucy out of the hands of her captors, and give her a free pass in Canada, or defend her in Cleveland against all aggressors, their violation of the unjust law enacted by the strong against the weak would not only be pardonable but praiseworthy, as a testimony of their allegiance to the higher law of humanity, and the Divine law which says—"Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant (a slave) that is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee where it liketh him best. Thou shalt not oppress him."

### TO THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA.

We deem it our duty, as your Representatives at Washington, to lay before you such information as we may possess in regard to the probable action of Congress in the present alarming condition of the country.

At the beginning of this session, now more than half over, committees were appointed, in both Houses of Congress, to consider the state of the Union. Neither committee has been able to agree upon any mode of settlement of the pending issues between the North and the South.

The Republican members in both committees rejected propositions acknowledging the right of property in slaves, or recommending the division of the Territories between the Slaveholding and Non-slaveholding States by a geographical line.

In the Senate, the propositions commonly known as Mr. Crittenden's were voted against, by every Republican Senator, and the House, on a vote by yeas and nays, refused to consider certain propositions, moved by Mr. Rikeridge, which were even less favorable to the South than Mr. Crittenden's.

A resolution giving a pledge to maintain the President in the use of force against seceding States was adopted in the House of Representatives by a large majority; and in the Senate every Republican voted to substitute for Mr. Crittenden's propositions resolutions offered by Mr. Clark, of New Hampshire, declaring no new concessions, guarantees, or amendments to the Constitution were necessary; that the demands of the South were unreasonable, and that the remedy for the present danger was simply to enforce the laws; in other words, coercion and war.

In this state of facts, our duty is to warn you that it is vain to hope for any measure of conciliation or adjustment (from Congress) which you could accept. We are also satisfied that the Republican party desires, by civil war alone, to coerce the Southern States, under the pretext of enforcing the laws, unless it shall become speedily apparent that the seceding States are so numerous, determined, and united as to make such an attempt hopeless.

We are confirmed in these conclusions by our general intercourse here; by the speeches of the Republican leaders, here and elsewhere; by the recent refusal of the Legislatures of Vermont, Ohio, and Pennsylvania to repeal their obnoxious Personal Liberty Laws; by the action of the Illinois Legislature on resolutions approving the Crittenden propositions, and by the adoption of the resolutions in New York and Massachusetts Legislatures (doubtless to be followed by others) offering men and money for the war of coercion.

We have these placed before you the facts and conclusions which have become manifest to us from this post of observation where you have placed us. There is nothing to be hoped from Congress—the remedy is with you alone, when you assemble in sovereign Convention.

We conclude by expressing our solemn conviction that prompt and decided action, by the people of Virginia in Convention, will afford the surest means, under the Providence of God, of averting an impending civil war, and preserving the hope of reconstructing a Union already dissolved.

J. M. HUNTER,  
R. M. T. HUNTER,  
D. C. DE JARNETTE,  
M. R. H. GARNETT,  
SHELTON F. LEAKE,  
E. S. MARTIN,  
H. A. EDMUNDSON,  
ROGER A. FRYER,  
THOS. S. BOGOCCK,  
A. G. JENKINS.

Washington City, January 28, 1861.  
[Owing to the detention of his amanuensis Smith, at his home in Virginia, by sickness, this address could not be presented to him for his signature. There is no doubt he would have joined in it, if present.]

### THE FOLLY OF WORLDLY WISDOM.

"The wisdom of the world is foolishness with God."—Barnes.

This divine maxim is as true in so-called secular affairs as in those called religious—as true at the ballot box and in the Senate Chamber, as in the pulpit and in the closet of secret devotion.

God has not provided two sorts of wisdom for us, the one to manage politics, and the other to guide us to heaven. All the wisdom He recognizes begins with the fear of the Lord, and is perfected by keeping his commandments, in all the duties and activities of life. All true statesmanship and all true sanctification begin and end just here—in the doing of the will of God, with a pure heart. His will is that the impenitent shall repent, believe, and be saved, that the Christian shall be perfected and sanctified, that the statesman shall do justice and execute judgment for all them that are oppressed, that the voter should choose rulers who are just, ruling in the fear of God. In each of these cases there can be no ultimate success, in the highest sense, but by doing the will of God, with a pure heart.

God's wisdom consists in a supreme regard to the true and right in the abstract, refusing it, always to practice, without variances or shadow of tutelage. He who does this, is wise with God's wisdom. His precepts concerning all things are right. He sitteth upon the throne, judging right. He controls all worlds, beings, and things, for the one grand object of maintaining and establishing the right, and confounding and overturning the wrong. He that would secure God's help and God's success, must not deviate a hair's breadth from right and the true, "in the abstract." He that deviates in one point is a transgressor, and is guilty of all. The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth—the right, the whole right, and nothing but the right, should be the one single aim of him who, in any part of God's universe, desires to succeed.

"This may be very true in the abstract," says Mr. Worthington, "but it will never answer in practice. It may be good theology, but it is bad policy. It may do in heaven, when we get there, if we ever do, but will never answer in a world like this. We must take things as they are. We must take the world as it is."

True, my friend, but what if it should turn out, in the end, that "things as they are, and the world as it is" are in God's hands, as the clay is in the hands of the potter, as the wax is in the hands of him that maketh it? And what if he hath sworn by himself, and will not lie, that "things as they are, and the world as it is" shall be overturned, and overturned, and overturned, until he whose right it is shall come, and the true and the right in the abstract, and nothing else, shall remain?

What if his counsel should stand, and he should do all his pleasure, working all things—yes! all "things as they are"—after the counsel of his own will. And what if every event that takes place shall infallibly contribute to bring about that great design of maintaining the true and the right, and of crushing to atoms every thing else?

If all this should turn out to be true, what would then become of all our temporal expedients, and crafty compliances and compromises and crooked courses, to dodge the true and the right?

What if the page of universal history, up to the present hour, be found, on examination, to be one continuous unbroken testimony to the unerring energy of Divine Providence for these very ends?

What if the scores now standing, before your eyes—what if the news you read, every morning, in the daily newspaper, or weekly, in the week-end, be only a continuation of this same world's history showing up "the world as it is, and things as they are," to be nothing more nor less than God's great theatre, appendages, and instrumentalities, by which he is carrying on the world-drama, with its successive scenes and catastrophes, every one of which teaches this little moral, that there is and can be no wisdom, but in an unswerving adherence to the true and the right, without addition, without subtraction, without intermission, without change?

The wisdom of the world is foolishness with God. A thousand years hence, perhaps, the pious readers of this world's history in search of the most striking illustrations of the folly of the worldly wisdom, may fix their eyes upon the history of the United States of America, in the nineteenth century, and find somewhere about the year 1860 the culmination of the most instructive catastrophe on record. Let us try to look at ourselves, as a nation, in the light in which future ages will look at us.

Here is a nation declaring it to be self-evident that all men are created equal, and they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—that for the security of these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. The representatives of the nation solemnly appeal to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions to organize a government for these ends. Such a Government they profess to institute, by a Constitution to "establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty," lay them under a moral and political obligation to do well. And they obliging to this policy of permitting millions of the nation to be oppressed, as the necessary condition of preserving peace, unity, security, and the stability and perpetuity of the nation and the Government. Learned men, deep read in history and civil policy do this? Is not "the wisdom of the world foolishness with God?"

They claim that they do this, because that Constitution to "establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty," lay them under a moral and political obligation to do well. And they obliging to this policy of permitting millions of the nation to be oppressed, as the necessary condition of preserving peace, unity, security, and the stability and perpetuity of the nation and the Government. Learned men, deep read in history and civil policy do this? Is not "the wisdom of the world foolishness with God?"

For thirty years the subject is agitated by the remonstrances of a small part of the people, who are denounced as disorganizers and traitors. For thirty years the combined powers of Church and State, the wealth, literature, official position, and political and ecclesiastical influence of the country are employed, not to devise means of removing the great national sin, the great national curse, but to put a stop to the agitation reporting it, and to persuade or force the whole people to settle down again into silence and quiet, doing nothing, attempting nothing, and saying nothing, in respect to it. Surely—is not "the wisdom of the world foolishness with God?"

By a continuous series of remarkable Providences, God himself, most signally records the absurdity of the based agitators and joining his voice to the persecuted, on condition of his leaving slavery free

theirs, thunders in the ears of the nation, "break every yoke—let the oppressed go free. Proclaim liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof!"—repeating, by his providential rebukes, the commands of his word. To every lip of exhortation based on the word and Providence of God, a besotted Priesthood, like that of rebellious Israel, cries "Peace! peace! Heresy! Infidelity! Slavery is a Bible institution. At least it is innocent. Though it knows marriage, it holds the Bible, extorts labor without wages—it is not malum in se." To this the Compting House of Mammon and the Senate Chamber of Mulech respond, "Amen! Abolition is treason. To hide the outskirts of rebellion. Put it down by mobs, by bludgeons, or by statutes."

Such is the wisdom of this world, in its treatment of those who bear testimony against oppression. For thirty years the worldly wisdom of the ruling politicians and ecclesiastics has been employed to settle the vexed question, to silence the agitation. "Finally" after finally has been proclaimed, then ripped up by them and cast to the winds. Compromise measures have been adopted. Compromises have been repeated. Compromises are again proposed. Yet the agitation rages more fiercely than ever. Is not "the wisdom of this world foolishness with God?" Has He ever been found to ratify their corrupt and wicked compromises?

When the "aggressions of the slave power" are called the interests of the "white" race, a "white" man's party came up not to overthrow the power of slavery by killing slavery itself. Oh! no. But by promising to let it live, and exhaust its strength on the black man, in the slave States, but forbidding it to extend itself into the new Territories, claimed for the exclusive use and benefit of the white man! The selfishness and meanness of the scheme was scarcely less than that of the Slave Power itself. Such a movement could not reach the conscience of the slaveholder, nor overawe him, nor inspire him with fear, it left the strength of the Slave Power unimpaired, and promised to leave it untouched. It only irritated and emboldened the slaveholders to put forth their power, and to urge new demands, as they are now doing.

God's command to "execute justice for the oppressed," was ignored, derided and spurned. The aid of the God of the oppressed, it was thought could be spared. It would be unable to attempt obedience to his commands. It would inflame the slaveholders, and to consolidate them, and propitiate their favor, was deemed of more importance, than to secure the co-operation and protection of God. Has not the event proved that their wisdom was foolishness with him?

Had Mr. Lincoln been elected on God's political platform—the platform of the Bible, of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution—the platform of equal justice and liberty to all men, the conscience of the slaveholders and of the whole nation would have been reached and improved. Every man, woman and child, would have known that it was right. The knowledge of this, during the campaign and afterward, would have been a tower of strength. The irritation of the slaveholders would have been less—their courage nothing at all. What would they have thought of attempting? Less than two hundred thousand slaveholders among four millions of slaves, six millions of Southern non-slaveholding whites, and against the majority in the free States. The telegraphic announcement of the election of a thorough abolition President would have settled the question, without commotion, without occasion, without a threat of secession. Every intelligent, reflecting, well-informed man, with a knowledge of history and of human nature, will admit this.

Here then we have the sacrifice of conscience, truth, right, liberty, and obedience to the plain commands of God, for the purpose of securing conciliation, quiet, the absence of agitation, of civil commotion and dissension. Yet the result turned out to be the reverse of all this.

The very evils dreaded by the Republican leaders, to avert which they failed to fulfill the high mission of statesmen and deliverers, have been brought upon them by the "wise and prudent" policy they have pursued. Even now, in the midst of the developments which reveal their lack of sagacity and foresight, they renew and redouble their expedients and proffered compromises, which only invite bolder demands and incite to more audacious aggressions. Even Seward, in the Senate, is seen feeding the South Carolina slaveholders with sugar-plumbs to stop their crying, and putting hammers and mirrors into their hands, to prevent them from doing mischief!

Surely, "the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God!"

For twenty years, "the wisdom of this world," in the Church, in the State, and in the Compting House has been taxing its resources to the uttermost, in every direction, and in the use of every conceivable expedient, to state off the beaten commandment duty to "break every yoke and let the oppressed go free." It has tried to do this by stepping the slave trade, of draining it off by colonization, of limiting its boundaries by compromise, of shutting it out of new Territories, of refusing to admit new slave States, of thus surrounding the old slave States with new free States, and in that way compelling it to decline and die. Every one of these expedients has failed. The slave trade has never been entirely suppressed. Its partial suppression, instead of lessening the decline of slavery has not prevented its growth to such dimensions that it demands that the restriction be removed, and is, itself, in defiance of the laws, annulling it. Though excluded from the North-West Territory, slavery has added Louisiana, Texas, and Florida, and has procured a decision of the highest Federal Court, legalizing it in all the Territories, and virtually in all the States. A measure which is approved by the President, and its support is now made a condition of the continuance of the Union! One by one, the demands of freedom have been, by compromise, abandoned, till it is difficult to tell what remains—except it be that the President elect shall be permitted to be inaugurated, on condition of his leaving slavery free

and thrive, and of repealing all State enactments for the protection, against kidnappers, of our citizens! Such are some of the fruits "the wisdom of the world." Is it not "foolishness with God?"

Our friends in various parts of the country who write to us approving the proposition to compromise the slavery difficulty by buying the slaves in the Border States, will understand that we do not publish their communications, simply from want of space. As for the idea which they so warmly advocate, it is sure to make its own way. As yet, no bill has been introduced into either House of Congress to carry out this great measure, but that will come in due time. It is the only practicable compromise which has been proposed, and must before long engage universal attention.—[N. Y. Tribune.]

### THE DANGER OF CIVIL WAR—THE AUTHOR'S NARRATIVE.

If it be possible for the disaffected States to separate themselves from the Union peacefully, we are in favor of giving them full permission and all useful assistance to go. We must meet the facts, the "accomplished facts," face to face. The separation is "bloodless as yet," though madmen have fired upon a ship at Charleston, and attempted to fire upon a steamboat at Vicksburg. At Charleston, seventeen cannon balls, aimed with deadly intent, at a vessel in the service of the General Government, passed harmlessly into the water. Greatly perplexed by his ignorance of the circumstances, and "warily tempted" to open his battery, the commandant at Fort Sumter said to his gunners, "patience," instead of "fire," or the "haughty echo," as the Charleston Mercury calls it, of the batteries of North Carolina, would have been heard in the thunder of the columbiads of the Fort. On the banks of the Mississippi river, on a dark and rainy night, a steamboat from this city did not "respect" a shot fired across her bow; three hundred yards above the landing, as her officers were utterly ignorant of its purpose, and a twenty-four pound gun, loaded with shrapnel, was aimed at her, and the match applied. The priming flashed without discharging the gun, or there would have been wholesale murder by the order and act of the authorities of the State of Mississippi. The officers of the boat are gentlemen well known here; there were women and children among the passengers; there were citizens of Kentucky on board. If it had not been for the dampness of the powder in the loath hole, the secession of Mississippi would have been signified by the murder of citizens of Ohio and Kentucky at Vicksburg, by authority of the State.

Thus far the shedding of blood has been wonderfully ceased. But there is danger, still! A dark and imminent, that blood will soon be shed. The lurid clouds of war loom over three cities—Pensacola, Charleston, and Washington: We would not have a right to surprise, if at any hour intelligence were received, that Fort Pickens and Sumter are attacked. And forbidding respecting the Federal City, are indulged by those who are most familiar with it. A conspiracy to take the city and hold it long enough at least to destroy the public buildings, is known to exist. There is no doubt about it. The Knights of the Golden Circle, and other Southern politico-military organizations, which are secret and oath bound, are at the bottom of it. Nothing but the presence of Gen. Scott, with some hundreds of United States troops, and several batteries of flying artillery, will prevent an attack. It is certain that if Major Anderson had not removed to Fort Sumter, and by that act broken up the Traitor Calhoun, Washington City would have been seized by a mob, and the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln in 1861 prevented. We are no anarchists, as our readers will bear witness, but we feel we would not be justified in saying, even now, that all apprehensions of trouble at Washington before inauguration day, may be dismissed.

If there is an attack upon Fort Sumter or Pickens, or upon the Federal City, all hope of the preservation or speedy restoration of the Federal Union, and avoiding civil war, will be suddenly extinguished. The property of the Government—the seat of the Government itself—can not be surrendered, but must be defended. If the States are to be separated into Northern and Southern Confederacies, or otherwise divided, the work must be done by a Convention of the States; "Undoubtedly in order." While we must not recognize the "right of secession," we must recognize, at some time and in some form, the facts of revolution. Why should we try to disguise from ourselves that the shock of the explosion of the mine fired by South Carolina, is felt on the banks of the Ohio, and that the foundations of the Commonwealth of Kentucky are shaken as by an earthquake? A fool fired the temple of Ephesus, which was the wonder of the world. South Carolina, the fool and madman, has fired into the temple of the Union; and we cannot quench the conflagration in blood. How then shall it be quenched? By recognizing the right of every medium to burn his own house—which is, the "right of secession!" That would plunge us into the fire forever. The right of secession is the license of anarchy, and to incorporate it into our form of government, is to guarantee law or in treason, would be to suffer ourselves up to eternal confusion.

But if one State cannot withdraw from the Union, a Convention of the people of all the States can take the general welfare into consideration, and yield the dissatisfied States the independence that they need to avert. It is vain to talk of separating the people of the States from the President to the Rio Grande, and the Ohio to the Gulf. The General Assembly of New York, and Ohio, and almost every other State, uphold the Federal Gov-







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## THE Anti-Slavery Bugle.

1861.

SALEM, OHIO, FEBRUARY 9, 1861.

### TO NON-SUBSCRIBERS WHO RECEIVE THE BUGLE.

Non-subscribers need not decline receiving the Bugle, fearing that they will be called upon to pay for it. We send no paper—except gratis copies—unless paid for in advance. So we say to each of the above class, the paper is either sent to you as a gratuity by the publisher, or else paid for in your name by some friend.

### THE TWO CONVENTIONS.

Two Conventions were to be held this week, one in Alabama to form a Southern Confederacy, and the other in Washington to adjust national difficulties, and decide at what point the sliding scale of compromise should be at present rest. The former Convention will probably defer dual action until it is ascertained what the latter will propose. We are beginning to have a very low estimate of the sagacity of our leading politicians, for they do not seem to comprehend that however willing the North may be to eat Humble Pie, no gastronomic feat in that line, although they gorge themselves to repletion, will satisfy the South. *Disunion is a dead fact*, and we are thankful that the pluck of the South has established beyond a peradventure what Northern servility would fain change.

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## PAST BIND, PAST FIND.

It is sometimes difficult to read men's motives in their actions; but the attempt often has to be made unless we adopt the absurd conclusion that they act without motives.

The Solons of our Legislature have recently had under consideration the all important subject of amalgamation; and being unwilling to leave it to nature alone to promote, or to prohibit an intermixture of the races, they resolved to follow the example of other manufacturers of quick nostrums, and "assist nature,"—they assuming that nature goes in for prohibition, or at least ought to. Having provided pains and penalties to punish legal as well as illegal amalgamation, we trust our Legislators will rest satisfied that they have secured the safety of the sons and daughters of their Republic and Democratic constituency. We mention these two classes of our population, because the legislation was evidently designed for their benefit. The impracticable abolitionists who are supposed to hold to theoretical amalgamation are too insignificantly few to claim such attention; and even if it were otherwise, they are not the kind of persons who would be most affected by such legislation.

The Democratic and Republican young men and young women of Ohio should take some measures to express to their representatives at Columbus, the high appreciation which they have of their services in the enactment of this law, and assure them that inasmuch as they are law-abiding citizens, they will now feel prohibited from indulging in their desire to form matrimonial relations with negro men and negro women, even though a faithful observance of its requirements should involve a sacrifice of their hearts' young affections, and the brightening of life's future prospects.

Who can blame the members of the Legislature for not wishing colored grand-children? And who will impugn the sagacity which led them to provide the possibility of such a result by the enactment referred to?

## PETITIONS.

We understand that petitions for Equal Rights, numerously signed, are constantly presented to the Legislature. Senator Brewer from New Lisbon, presented one last week from East Liverpool, and a long roll from Wellsville, containing a great number of names for the amount of population. Mr. Rukenthorp has offered the 564 from Salem. Mr. Blackwell carried in a roll forty-five feet long from Cleveland, headed by A. G. Riddle and Rev. Dr. Aiken. That with others, contained more than 2000 names, that were presented in the House at one time. The same morning seven petitions were offered in the Senate—number of names not mentioned. Thus from day to day, the Legislature reminded that the people of the State are earnestly desirous that legal rights shall be restored to married women.

TRAMPING ON THE AMERICAN FLAG.—At the Richmond (Va.) Theatre, not long since, an actress (Miss Richings, we are told) undertook to sing "Hall Columbia," or "The Star Spangled Banner." That was promptly blazed down. She then came forward, bearing the stars and stripes, and sang the Southern Marseilles, during which she threw down the flag and trampled upon it, when

"At once there rose as wild a yell, As all the fends from Heaven that fell Had raised the banner-ory of hell."

We can hardly believe that Miss Richings, the Cleveland favorite, whose rendition of "The Star Spangled Banner" was thrilled through the hearts of her hearers time and again, would be guilty of such a sacrilege as this, but if true, her popularity in Ohio has departed forever.

## SALEM QUARTERLY MEETING OF FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

The next Meeting of this Association will commence on Sunday, February 10th, 1861, at the Town Hall in Columbus, at half past 10 o'clock. A general attendance desired.

ISAAC TAYLOR, Secy.  
KATHERINE HARRIS, Clerk.

## HARRINGTON!

Is for sale by  
MRS. H. F. M. BROWN,  
626 Superior St., Cleveland, O.  
Price, \$1.25. Postage 25 cents.

## BOOKS AT COST.

Max H. F. M. Brown, 228 Superior St., [a few doors east of the Public Square], Cleveland, O., has for sale a general assortment of

## ANTI-SLAVERY BOOKS.

Among which are:  
Shamash in Pursuit of Freedom, \$1.25. James Redpath's Life of John Brown, \$1.00. Halper's Impending Crisis, \$1.00. Unconstitutionality of Slavery, by Lyander Spooner, 50 cents. Echoes of Harper's Ferry, \$1.25; and a variety of other Books, all of which will be sold 30 per cent less than the retail price.

## NEW BOOKS:

The subscriber has now got on a Complete Assortment, and is prepared to furnish everything in the line of

## BOOKS, STATIONERY, AND WALL PAPER.

Foley's Celebrated Gold Pens,  
All warranted to give Satisfaction.  
Spencer's Writing Books—Wholesale and Retail.  
Books of the American Sunday School Union.  
Bibles, Prayer-Books, Hymn-Books, and all kinds of Theological, Historical, Poetical, Scientific,

## Miscellaneous Books.

School Books of every description! Best quality of Writing-Paper, at Wholesale and Retail. Blank Books, Memoranda, Post-Books, and everything else pertaining to the business.

J. M. MILLER,  
Columbus, Oct. 27, 1860.

## SIGNIFICANT.

The following resolution was passed at the recent State Democratic Convention of Ohio.

"Resolved, That the two hundred thousand Democrats of Ohio send to the people of the United States, both North and South greeting, and when the people of the North shall have fulfilled their duties to the Constitution and the South—then, and not till then, will it be proper for them to take into consideration the question of the right and propriety of coercion."

When politicians talk of coercing the South, and speak as though the North was a unit on this question, they ignore a feeling which exists among an innumerable portion of the people. The Democracy of Ohio are not in a very small minority, if they now be there at all, and instead of pledging themselves through their State Convention to its coercing of seceding States, offering with pitiless hands to raise men and money for the purpose, they very coolly intimate in language not to be misunderstood, that until the North does what she probably never will do, the Democratic party of Ohio will not even consider the right and propriety of coercion.

Ohio is not alone in this party feeling, and it would probably be found on examination that there are very many in the North who not only refuse to entertain the question of coercion, but who fully recognize the right of secession. They regard it as one of the reserved State Rights, and without the full recognition of which, State Sovereignty wholly disappears and gives place to a Federal despotism having in it none of the elements of a Democratic government.

SALEM POST OFFICE.—A few weeks since the Republicans of Salem indicated through the ballot box their preference for the several candidates for this office. Without expressing an opinion as to the merits or demerits of any of the candidates, we desire to give our testimony as to the promptness, faithfulness, and ability with which the present incumbent, PETER BOWMAN, has performed the duties of that situation, and we have no question but such would be the testimony of all who have done business with him. The place is admirably fitted, and we know of no one who would be more likely to give general satisfaction in the discharge of the duties of Postmaster. Judged by the Jeffersonian test he is the man for the place, for he is "honest and capable." Unfortunately for his continuity in office, Peter is a Democrat, and if the victors are not to have the spoils, what power of cohesion, pray, could hold parties together?

A QUERY.—The question has been asked us whether the "gold-headed cane" presented to Cleveland, was topped with the true metal, or whether it was the cheap gold used in some other gift enterprise.

INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF A SLAVE GIRL; the narrative of Linda Brent.—We have read this astounding work with much pleasure. It is a veritable history of the trials and sufferings to which a slave girl was subjected, but who finally triumphed over all discouragements, and obtained freedom for herself and her two children. The manuscript was revised by Mrs. Child, who is acquainted with the author, and who assures the reader that she "has not added anything to the incidents, or changed the import of her very pertinent remarks," the reviser being merely for condensation and orderly arrangement. The style is simple and attractive—you feel less as though you were reading a book, than talking with the woman herself. Her relations of the domestic character of the domestic institution unfolds a fearful sum of infamy, that demands the active opposition of every wife and mother in our land.

The work, which forms a handsome volume of over 300 pages, is published for the benefit of the author, and those who desire to benefit themselves as well as the writer, can procure a copy for \$1, at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington St., Boston.

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J. M. MILLER,  
Columbus, Oct. 27, 1860.

## ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS.

The Tract Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society will furnish the following Tracts on application at M. Millan's Book-Store, Salem, Ohio.

Correspondence between Lydia Maria Child and Governor Wise and Mrs. Mason, of Virginia. 79-28. 5 cents.

The New Reign of Terror in the Slaveholding States, for 1859 and 1860. pp. 144. 10 cents.

Daniel O'Connell on American Slavery; with other Irish Testimonies. pp. 48. 5 cents.

The Right Way the Safe Way, proved by Emancipation in the West Indies and elsewhere. By L. Maria Child. pp. 35. 10 cents.

Testimonies of Capt. John Brown at Harper's Ferry, with his address to the Court. pp. 16. 5 cents.

The Philosophy of the Abolition Movement. By Wendell Phillips. pp. 47. 5 cents.

The Duty of Disobedience to the Fugitive Slave Act: An Appeal to the Legislature of Massachusetts. By L. Maria Child. pp. 36. 5 cents.

The Infidelity of Abolitionists. By Wm. Lloyd Garrison. pp. 12. 5 cents.

Speech of John H. Brown, convicted of a Violation of the Fugitive Slave Act at Chicago, Illinois. pp. 12. 5 cents.

The Patriarchal Institution, as described by Members of its Own Family. Compiled by L. Maria Child. pp. 55. 5 cents.

No Slave-Hunting in the Old Bay State: An Appeal to the People and Legislature of Massachusetts. pp. 84. 5 cents.

Platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society and its auxiliaries. pp. 36. 5 cents.

Package containing all of the above will be furnished for 80 cents, or if sent by mail 45 cents. The Postage on the Reign of Terror is 5 cts, on the Right Way 5 cts, and on the others 1 cent each.

Redpath's Life of John Brown for sale at 25 cts, price 75 cts.

## AMBIOTYPES, PHOTOGRAPHS, AND LITHOTYPES.

TAKEN AT THE NEW YORK PICTURE GALLERY, Over Horner's Store, Salem, Ohio, at Holiday prices until after the 29th of Jan., 1861.

L. B. SILVER, Proprietor.

## UNDERTAKING.

All kinds of COFFINS furnished at short notice, and everything pertaining to the business attended to, by

ROBERT HOLE,  
Salem, Oct. 27, 1860.

## SALEM SOAP & CANDLE WORKS.

H. P. ADAMS &



### IMPORTANT HADDO

Breeders, Fruit Growers, Bee Keepers,  
The Cheapest and Best Rural Weekly  
Paper in the United States!

THE RURAL AMERICAN, published at  
St. Louis, Mo., is now enlarged to eight double  
columns, embracing forty long columns of read-  
ing matter, and is got up in a style unequalled by  
any similar paper.

ITS SIXTH VOLUME.  
It is highly popular weekly with numerous  
subscribers. Its first volume, January 1st, 1861, and it is de-  
signed by J. M. ALKOT, CHAIRMAN, and it is believed to  
be the best paper for the RURAL, AGRICULTURAL, LIT-  
ERARY and General Family Newspaper combined, ever  
published in this country.

RURAL, AGRICULTURAL AND HORTICULTURAL  
DEPARTMENTS.  
These departments are conducted by men of  
experience in rural pursuits, and are varied  
and practical; information by any other pub-  
lication.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.  
It embraces the most useful information  
procured in the entire Encyclopedia of  
Literature and Domestic Literature, with Biographies  
and Histories, Travels, &c., of rare and  
interesting value. A Tale of the West is  
published weekly which can be read by the most in-  
telligent in rural taste without harm, and which is  
very attractive feature of this paper, especially  
to young people.

LADIES' DEPARTMENT.  
This is the especial benefit of the Ladies, the  
Rural American will contain a department of Domestic  
Economy, in which a vast deal of highly val-  
uable information will appear on Household duties,  
and all pertaining thereto, besides much con-  
sisting of great interest to the female sex.

NEWS DEPARTMENT.  
Although this paper is not designed to supersede  
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